

*Desk*

*Shortages  
Periods. R. R.*

# **THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY**

## **S P E C I A L I S S U E**

### **RACIAL INTEGRATION SOME PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES**

DAN W. DODSON, *Issue Editor*

---

Toward Integration .....	<i>Dan W. Dodson</i>	49
Racial Integration in Three Protestant Denominations .....	<i>Alfred Kramer</i>	59
When White Children Are in the Minority .....	<i>Joseph Rosner</i>	69
The Integration of Negroes in Baseball.....	<i>Dan W. Dodson</i>	73
An Historic Instance of the Mutual Involvement of Southern Negro and White People .....	<i>W. L. Graham</i>	83
An Evaluation of the Integration Potential of a Physical Education Program .....	<i>Harriet J. Kupferer</i>	89

**OCTOBER 1954**

# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY

THE PAYNE EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED  
New York University  
Washington Square  
New York 31, N. Y.

## *Editorial Staff*

DAN W. DODSON, *Editor in Chief*      JOHN C. PAYNE, *Asst. Managing Editor*  
ABRAHAM I. KATSH, *Managing Editor*  
EVELYN F. DODSON, *Business Manager*  
HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH, FREDERIC M. THRASHER, STEPHEN G. RICH  
I. DAVID SATLOW, STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, ESTHER HILTON, ETHEL ALPENFELS,  
*Associate Editors.*

## *Permanent Department*

### Book Reviews

THE PAYNE EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED

## *Board of Trustees*

MAURICE MOFFATT, *President*      DAN W. DODSON, *Managing Trustee*  
W. CLINTON STUART, *Vice-President*      STEPHEN G. RICH  
HENRY W. MEISSNER, *Secretary*      WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN  
I. DAVID SATLOW, *Treasurer*      HERBERT D. HARPER  
LEWIS BENTON

---

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is published by The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., monthly from September to May, inclusive. Publication and business office, New York University, Washington Square, New York 31, N. Y. The subscription price is \$3.00 per year; foreign rates, Canadian and South American, \$3.25, all others, \$3.40; the price of single copies is 35 cents each. Orders for less than half a year will be charged at the single-copy rate.

Entered as second-class matter September 27, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is indexed in *Educational Index*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, and *Business Education Index*.

The publishers of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY are not responsible for the views held by its contributors.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

---

Vol. 28

OCTOBER, 1954

No. 2

---

## TOWARD INTEGRATION

DAN W. DODSON

On May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court rendered one of the most important decisions of this century. It said, in effect, that separate education of the races, legally enforced was a violation of the rights of the minority group person. Thus, the direction of race relations as a public policy established in 1896 in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, was reversed. On the succeeding Monday in other decisions, the court made it clear that not alone in education, but all other relations as well, the constitution was color blind.

It is significant that the court as well as the general public seems agreed that the relations between the races in public education is the most pivotal of all the Southern behavior patterns.

There is now placed upon the educational leadership of the South the responsibility of steering what is in effect, a social revolution in this generation. For there is little doubt but that "as the schools go—so does the whole pattern of race relations."

Desegregation has been a legal battle, carefully planned, brilliantly executed. Racial integration, however, is a socio-psychological process which can be accomplished only by education. Desegregation is the first mile—the forced mile. Integration is the second mile—the permissive mile—the educational mile.

In this frame of reference the court lifted the Southern pattern of race relations out of its uniqueness, and placed it in the category of the remainder of the nation. "Jim Crow" as a legal phenomenon has ceased to exist. The integration of racial groups into the common stream of community life, on the basis of equality for all, has become a national problem—equally acute in New York City, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Georgia or Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Hence the repercussions of the decision resound in every community where racial integration is a problem. The tempo of adjustment is quickened throughout the nation.

---

Copyright, 1954, by the Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc.

**WHAT EXPERIENCE DO WE HAVE WITH INTEGRATION?**

In this framework there is urgent need for experimentation and study of the accumulated experience to determine what principles of integration can be discovered. Locke and Stern<sup>1</sup> brought together a compendium several years ago in an attempt to assemble the relevant information on this topic. Most of that material, however, represents unplanned, incidental or accidental bringing of groups together. This task ahead now is different in that this development represents conscious, planned, bringing together of different groups as a social policy.

**FIVE STUDIES**

With this need in mind, some three years ago the Center For Human Relations Studies of New York University started encouraging students to undertake doctorates in this general area. Several "fell by the wayside" of course, and some of those here presented are being prematurely reported because of the timeliness of the topics. In general, they deal with minute fragments of a total problem. It is hoped, however, that they make some contribution to the slowly accumulating literature.

The discussion of them may be repetitious, but perhaps the emphasis will be understood. The Rosner study undertook to ascertain if majority youths, when placed in settings in which they are the minority, assume characteristics which are roughly ascribed as minority behavior. In spite of the general culture values which give whites status as whites, there was good evidence that being a minority person in a situation where race was important had its impact upon personality. Self perceptions, attitudes and behaviors tend to reverse.

The complicating factor in the study, however, was the difference in the social climate of the two agencies. In the permissive climate the prejudices came out. In the more structured, authoritarian climate they were more covert. This factor of climate tends to complicate most studies of this nature. These data tend to say there may be a more wholesome mental health environment if there is allowed some racial conflict. So many instances which this writer has observed present a picture of "no trouble," yet a ritualistic impersonal relation between the two groups. Educators are in the edilemma of "how much do you sacrifice for mental health, and how much for good reputation of the institution." If two groups of whites in a school come to hostile relations little is thought of it, except perhaps that there is a youth problem. If, however, these groups happen to be of

<sup>1</sup> Locke and Stern, *When People's Meet*, N. Y., Progressive Education Association.

different racial backgrounds it becomes a race conflict. One other thing the study suggests is that minority behavior is a psychological phenomena and not a racial one. Thus whatever can be done to create new group patterns which cut across the lines of race, leads groups away from dominance-subversion relationships.

The Kupferer study tends to indicate that lines of group identification are rather deep set, that a manipulative physical education experience which brings youths together in an activity is not enough, of itself, to make for acceptance. Negro girls still chose Negro girls and whites, whites. Again, one wonders about the social climate of these relationships. Also, to be considered, is the whole context of community life including social class status of the different groups, the attitudes of school and other agency leadership, and above all the attitudes of other minorities towards Negroes as a minority. Would white children who were more secure in their own status have been more democratic than minority whites who were culturally marginal?

The Kramer study surveys and analyzes the patterns of association in three voluntary associations, i.e. three religious denominations. Here the role of leadership and strategy are limned against this great dilemma which religion faces. Brotherhood as an ideal is one thing—as a reality in a voluntary association, even the church, it is another. Here is highlighted some positive suggestions for social action. In all such associations the values are ambivalent. When one talks of the group's prejudice he must ask "Which prejudices?" for people are prejudiced favorably as well as unfavorably. In these instances the commitment of leadership is often the measure of difference as to how races relate to each other in such mixed situations.

Graham's study illustrates the "long view" approach. It documents a method that starts with some elements of a common heritage and a minimum of "room for movement" and expands slowly, but inexorably in the face of enormous odds. In this "working together" on common problems, it is interesting indeed to analyze the role relationships of those involved. People who are branded "bigots" in one role, are staunch defenders of interracial justice in the other. As a custodian of the high "institutional office" (even when it is a religious one) a leader seems to take the position which he deems necessary to that office, although it may be diametrically opposed to other roles which he plays.

The study also seems to say that a pragmatic approach is superior to a theoretical one. While W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington were arguing over whether education for Negroes should be classical or vocational, this group of Negroes and white people

were training students for leadership tasks in a climate in which doctoral studies were saying Negroes could not learn. Today's experience seems to indicate that it is not profitable to speculate on "ultimate" outcomes of race relations. (Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro Etc.) but rather there should be encouragement to concentrate on "What do we do next?" Ultimate outcomes are thereby left to those who are in the decision making positions at the time at which the "ultimate" solutions present themselves. In this manner "ultimate solutions no longer become the *raison d'être* for bigoted behavior.

The baseball study is so well documented from so many sources that its inclusion is largely for purposes of social science analysis. It demonstrates the art, which well nigh bodes on science, of leadership toward democratic goals.

#### **VALUES AND THE INTEGRATION PROCESS**

One final word needs to be said concerning values. Social Science is rapidly discovering principles (dynamics) of human behavior, which allow the prediction of behavior, once certain facts about the situation are known. Prediction soon leads to control. Control can be, and in many instances is, manipulation. As in other sciences the "laws" of behavior are neither moral nor immoral. How they are used rests in the last analysis, upon the values possessed by the group using them. It is entirely likely that they will be used to circumvent desegregation, as well as to achieve it. The democrat must have faith enough in his fellow countrymen to believe that as a nation we desire that all our science be used to democratic ends, i.e. the fullest development of all peoples.

This writer believes that the "policy implementers" of our day have a right to the accumulated "know how" the behavioral sciences possess as they move to bring institutional practices in line with social policy—especially when that policy is backed by the basic idealism which is inherent in our Hebraic-Christian tradition. In fact, it would be the contention here, that "the implementer" has the obligation to use such principles as we know to prevent destructive conflict as groups interact with each other under his supervision in new relationships.

#### **PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION**

##### **1. School Boards and Superintendents of Schools do not ask peoples if they want to mix.**

This is the surest way to community conflict, pressure upon minorities, and organized opposition. The leadership of a school system has an obligation to *all* the people and their children. The

court has ruled that segregated education deprives a part of the people of their rights under the constitution. In this situation you do not ask the majority if they would "like" to respect the rights of the minority. You interpret your position to the community, but move, as in other similar aspects of administration from a mandate which transcends the here and now of public caprice. Unless the rights of the minority transcend a majority public vote there can be no democracy.

Rickey would never have crashed the color line in baseball had he waited until the players decided they wanted to play with Negroes. Saenger interviewed people at Lord and Taylor's Department Store in New York City who said they would not patronize a store which employed Negro clerks. These self-same people had been observed making purchases from Negro clerks only minutes before.

## 2. Begin with a firm statement of policy and do not equivocate.

No organization possesses good administration until all its employees and its publics know and understand its policies. No organization is considered to possess integrity if its policies are subject to change with every pressure which comes along. There is certain to be trouble if people discover that by "hollering" loud enough they can get exceptions to policy, variations to rules, and disregard of stated policy.

Not only is this important for the public, but equally so for personnel. Unless employees understand what policy is, they cannot be held responsible for its implementation. No policy becomes policy in many instances.

An excellent statement of policy is presented below. Supt. Corning and his staff drafted it for Washington, D. C. It would need to be different for some other communities, perhaps. However it is suggestive. It should be noted that it a) starts with the change in legal definition of the situation. b) its adoption by the board of education. Thus the superintendent knows how far he can go and have the support of his board. The statement reads:

In the light of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Bolling v. Sharpe*, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, believing it to be in the best interest of all citizens of the community of Washington, and necessary to the effective administration of an integrated system within the public schools, hereby adopts the following declaration of policy:

1. Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employees of the Board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color.

2. No pupil of the public school shall be favored or discriminated against in any matter or in any manner respecting his or her relationship in the schools of the District of Columbia by reason of race or color.
3. Attendance of pupils residing within school boundaries, hereafter to be established, shall not be permitted at schools located beyond such boundaries, except for the most necessitous reasons or for the public convenience, and in no event for reasons related to the racial character of the school within the boundaries in which the pupil resides.
4. The Board believes that no record should be kept or maintained in respect to any pupil not enrolled in a public school prior to June 17, 1954, or in respect to any officer or employee not employed within the system on or prior to that date in which information is solicited or recorded relating to the color or race of any such person.
5. That the maximum efficient use shall be made of all physical facilities without regard to race or color.

In support of the foregoing principles, which are believed to be cardinal, the Board will not hesitate to use its full powers. It is pledged to a complete and wholehearted pursuit of these objectives.

We affirm our intention to secure the right of every child, within his own capacity, to the full, equal and impartial use of all school facilities, and the right of all qualified teachers to teach where needed within the school system. And, finally, we ask the aid, cooperation and goodwill of all citizens and the help of the Almighty in holding to our stated purposes."

### **3. Do not allow yourself to be put on the defensive.**

One should not defend actions designed to fulfil the American Credo. When a student asked Branch Rickey why he hired Robinson—saying "You didn't have to do it," he responded "I don't have to answer that one."

You have to answer instead, "Why shouldn't I?" I judge him to be a qualified ball player. He is an American citizen. He was good enough to wear Uncle Sam's uniform. Why shouldn't I?"

America is an ambivalent society. While our practices are undemocratic our ideals are those of equality. Public policy has favored the practices up to May 17, 1954. New policy now favors the ideals.

In a suburb of Dallas, Texas, a few years ago a member of a teachers group asked this writer "What about the bombing of the Negro home here last night?" The question was turned by saying the principal of a Negro school had asked the same question—"How could he teach democracy to his students in current events with this bombing the night before?

At this point the superintendent became defensive and responded "I would say there are two sides to that question. One is moral. Of course such violence is not moral. The other is legal. After all it was against the law for the Negro to move in that section."

To this a classroom teacher responded "But isn't it too bad that law and morality are not on the same side."

The Supreme Court ruling has placed law and morality on the same side. Few there are who will challenge actions in line with these ideals—The administrator should not try to defend obeying the law and fulfilling our most fundamental obligation of leadership, namely, that it be moral.

**4. Don't worry about prejudices. Don't try to "Brain Wash."  
Instead, bring peoples together to do a job, and concern self  
with climate in which they interact.**

People's prejudices are private affairs. They become of public concern only when officials allow them to get in the way of responsible performance of duty.

This author had the opportunity of assisting with six sessions for the principals of the school system of Washington, D. C. recently. They were called "on company time" to "review existing inter-group problems" and to "contemplate the challenges which would be presented should the court desegregate." Many of the principals were admittedly prejudiced. This was the first time they had been brought together as a racially mixed group. There was some anxiety on the part of some as to what would happen. One remarked to a colleague, "I guess I'll go get my brains washed today."

To have preached, pleaded, etc. would have been fatal. After a presentation of the purpose of the meeting the chairman would invariably break the group into mixed "buzz sessions" for them to formulate the problems. From this point the chairman as well as the consultant (both from the outside) became resource people, to help them with their problems. It was heartening to hear them say "We are professional people. This will be a new dimension of growth to our professional competency."

Already before the meetings were over many of them said: "I realize I am prejudiced." Where can I turn to prepare myself to meet this challenge. The climate of the meetings had been conducive to a quality of interaction which allowed people to move at their own pace, but more importantly, respected personal prejudices. Better relations happen when people are allowed to move creatively rather than defensively.

**5. Plan With and not For minority groups.**

One of the greatest mistakes is that of planning without the involvement of all segments of the community. Many Northern communities have found it profitable to bring a Negro staff member to headquarters to assure themselves that the viewpoint of the Negro community is included in planning. There is bound to be distrust and anxiety on the part of the Negro community, if they never know

plans until it is too late to correct objections, except in the light of public discussion. This is usually a well justified anxiety, for the average educational administrator has "social blind spots" about the Negro community served by his school system. Many years ago Moton wrote a book entitled *What The Negro Thinks*. Its theme was that no white person actually knows what the Negro thinks for he has never had the experience of being a Negro.

This mutual involvement can have a very creative effect. In many Southern communities (because of the equalization ruling) Negro personnel have been privileged to attend some of the best Northern and Eastern universities. They have a contribution to make, not just to "Negro education," but to education.

The psychological sense of being "shut out" is perhaps one of the most devastating parts of discrimination. Mutual involvement in planning can do much to correct it.

#### **6. Bring groups together as peers.**

Such information as we have indicated that integration succeeds best where persons are brought together as equals. The most disturbing aspects of present programs of desegregation are that they seem to provide for Negro children to go to white schools and not the reverse. They seem to make little allowance for Negro personnel. These actions infer inferiority of the Negro group and are likely to make trouble in the years ahead.

#### **7. Don't make the compromises for those responsible for making the decisions on matters of policy.**

Too many superintendents decide not to move on issues because they "think" the board of education won't approve. Being thus shielded, the board members never have to wrestle with problems which would foster their own growth.

Mr. Rickey would not make the compromise of playing his team without Negroes. Thus city officials of Florida had to face issues they would otherwise have been shielded from.

This is particularly crucial in the South. The court has for sixty years shielded public administrators from wrestling with racial problems, for the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision said it was legal to segregate provided facilities were equal.

Sometimes, too, administrators underestimate the qualities of their boards. An instance of this occurred in a Pacific Coast city a few years ago. The superintendent submitted his list of appointments for approval. One name was out of alphabetical order. The chairman asked why this was so. The superintendent said he thought they

might like to consider it separately because the person was Japanese. The chairman said, "Why should we consider it separately? Is the person qualified?"

The superintendent said "Well, if you feel that way about it, maybe I'll submit the names of some Negroes next time."

The chairman responded, "If they are qualified there is no reason why you shouldn't. Why should race have anything to do with it?"

Here, a superintendent had mistakenly assumed the board would not like to have minority people in the staff and had shielded the official policy group from ever having to consider these crucial problems of policy, for he had made the moral compromises for them unbeknownst to them. If educators sell democracy short, by accepting such responsibilities, there can be little hope for growth.

#### **8. Plug all existing weak places in present program.**

Any new stress such as that of integrating a new group into a school shows in glaring detail the already existing weaknesses. It should be remembered that when the fundamental principles of child growth and development are applied, something has already been done toward bettering intergroup relations. For example, psychologically, we know that frustration tends to beget aggression. In situations where people do not have a feeling of success they tend to seek a scapegoat in others. This is illustrated by a recent attack on Jewish children in a school. The animosity, it was found on examination, stemmed not from anti-semitism *per se*, but from a type of school organization in which slow and fast learners were segregated. The Jewish children were of high socio-economic status and predominantly constituted the fast group. The other children of low socio-economic status resented the accelerated group. A rigid authoritarian teacher is a poor educator. In a mixed racial situation she is shown up more than when she is simply leading a homogeneous group.

Any administration or program features which make for poor mental health, inevitably provide the seeds of disagreement and friction in any situation. In a mixed situation it frequently takes on racial coloration.

#### **9. Mobilize community resources to create climate conducive to good intergroup relations.**

Educators everywhere are beginning to realize the merit of Hart's statement of many years ago to the effect that no single agency of this community can produce the sort of citizens we have the right to expect our children to become. Only a good community can do that.

Many administrators are finding a great resource in agencies such as official intergroup relations committees, and councils of social agencies. The larger communities are finding that how people relate to each other is a responsibility of politics as well as education. There are many groups in almost any community who have worked to improve race relations over the years. In addition many people of liberal tendency have not been vocal because of the futility of bucking the impossible. This unanticipated resource will undoubtedly come to the aid of any administrator who takes the lead.

**10. Don't be disturbed too much by the ballyhoo and protest put forth by the opposition at the time policy is being decided.**

Past experience tends to indicate that the controversies occur at this point rather than at the time policy is to be implemented. It is a rare thing that there has been trouble when desegregation was actually put into operation.

**11. Don't allow difficulties which arise to be given a racist interpretation.**

Educators are called on every day to deal with problems of inter-group difference, e.g., social class, slow learners versus fast learners, newcomers into the neighborhood, new teachers to the staff, etc. Most problems of desegregation are problems of this nature rather than problems of race. Race is only incidentally or accidentally attached to it. Leadership will need to be wary that these differences are not given racist interpretation.

**12. Be prepared to service needs for in-service growth as teachers see the need for sharpening their skills in working with these problems.**

Materials for curriculum, guidance, social science background, etc. will all be needed as classroom teachers begin re-interpreting their teachings to mixed groups instead of racially homogeneous ones. Materials on the nature of prejudice will be needed for those who feel challenged to examine their own attitudes against scientific data.

\* \* \* \*

Above all, there is good indication that education will move ahead in great strides as leadership catches the thrill of having a vital part in bringing America's practices in line with her professions; a part in healing the traumas of the past; and opening the channels for full participation in the future of this great nation of ours. For the next two decades American Educators are truly in the front lines. In this fight for democracy, we will need all the arts and what science we can muster, mixed generously with great spiritual and moral commitments to win the fight.

## RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THREE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS

ALFRED KRAMER

Movement toward racial integration among other institutions in our society carries with it a strong significance for the churches. Significant especially from the point of view of relationships between profession and practice. And this, of course, is part of the over-all relation between what we profess and what we practice in our democracy. The problem of changing practice often becomes more difficult when one also seeks to maintain a *sound process* of institutional change in line with basic principles of change in a democracy. Therefore, the Protestant churches are now seriously challenged, as voluntary associations of persons, to find approaches to their problems of segregation that are at least complementary in effectiveness to those used among organizations whose human associations are less voluntary in nature.

This raises the question of control over members of an organization and in such a discussion the voluntary associational nature of Protestant churches ought to be borne in mind. Witness the ease with which a member of one church may disassociate himself and become a member of another church of an entirely different denomination. Nevertheless, within a variety of denominational patterns of control, certain activities have been pursued toward racial integration. These cannot be delineated here.

Several of the denominations have endeavored during the past ten years to systematically survey their practices and take action toward racially inclusive congregations. In 1950 three denominations became cooperatively engaged in a joint research project to examine the processes through which local congregations of their own groups had moved toward, or had achieved some degree of racial inclusiveness in their churches and organizations.

This project was begun at the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University, and was developed through the co-operative efforts of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the social action commissions of the three Protestant communions. These were: the United Lutheran Church in America, the Congregational Christian Churches,<sup>1</sup> and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. It is emphasized that this research project does not presume to present a complete cross-section of racial inclusion even within the three

<sup>1</sup> Some of the data on the Congregational Christian Churches come from an earlier (1946) survey by L. Maynard Catchings.

denominations which have benefitted the cause by submitting themselves to examination.

#### BASIC DATA

Questionnaires were mailed to 13,597 local churches. A total of 4,810 replies was received from every state and from Alaska, Hawaii, Virgin Islands, Canada, Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The data revealed that 1,331 churches within these three communions reported membership or attendance of persons of more than one racial group. This permits an estimate that 9.8 percent of all the churches in these communions have constituents from more than one racial group. Approximately 110 of the 1,331 churches were located in states traditionally termed southern states. Of the 110 there were 45 which reported the inclusion of American Negroes within their membership or church organizations.

More detailed information was gathered on these 1,331 churches. A response of 538 was received which was further reduced to 405. This is the base figure used for most of the data in this report. These data were supplemented by case studies.

#### HOW MUCH INTEGRATION?

The total church membership reported by the 405 ministers was 237,476 persons. These same 405 ministers reported 6,422 non-white persons among the congregations or organizations of their churches. This means that non-white persons reported in the 405 congregations represent about 2.7 percent of the aggregate number of persons involved. It was not possible to gather sufficient and accurate data upon which to make a statement with reference to the proportion of these churches located in substantially segregated communities. Nor is it possible in this article to describe much of the *nature of the social climate* in these racially inclusive groups.

Church membership held by racial minority persons in these three denominations ranges from a little more than one percent in one denomination to slightly more than seven percent for another denomination. Another point of integration with which the study concerned itself was the matter of participation\* in the program of the church schools. Percentages of churches indicating non-white participation in their church school programs ranged from over one-half of one percent in one denomination to about four percent for another. Another type of relationship examined was that of attendance at worship services by non-white persons, who were not members, for various reasons, of the particular church which they

\* Leadership participation was distinguished from ordinary participation by the holding of officially appointed or elected positions at all levels of the local organization. Leadership participation was a significant phenomenon.

attended. The percentage of churches in the three denominations which reported such attendance by non-white persons ranged from between one-half of one percent to slightly less than four percent.

A fourth type of relationship examined was that of participation in church organizations other than the church school. These included youth fellowships, ladies groups, men's groups and so forth. The percentages of the churches in two denominations (comparable data not available on one of the denominations at this point) which reported participation in this category were about one-fourth of one percent in one case and approximately one and a half percent in the other.

A cursory examination of these and other data indicate several things. In the first place, it will be seen that church membership is the type of relationship most frequently found to obtain for non-white persons in the predominantly white congregations of these denominations. It is not clear at this point as to just what kind of interpersonal relations can be subsumed to exist in holding church membership. The most that can be said about church-member relationship now is that this is an official and public relationship, known and, at least officially, accepted by the governing body of the local church. It can be said, therefore, that this official kind of relationship of non-white persons obtained in approximately four and a half percent of the 13,597 churches in this study.

It should be noted that data indicate slightly under one percent of the 13,597 churches reported non-white persons in groups of ten or more in a single church. Also, by far the bulk of the 1,331 reports indicated that less than five non-white persons were involved in any instance of any type of relationship with the local churches. This bulk, to be specific, amounts to about 83 percent of the 1,331 churches or 8.2 percent of the 13,597 churches.

In the light of these and other data one general observation with reference to racially inclusive churches among these three denominations can be made at this point. Since there is little difference, socially, between attending a worship service *as a member* and attending the same worship service *as a non member* of the church and, in view of data showing these two categories of relationship to be the most frequently occurring types of relationships, it would appear that this is an indication that the real social life of the churches moves along a fairly separate pathway and out of touch with most of the non-white persons who are related in any way to the church.

#### POLICY

While extensive data with reference to the role and function of national policy re integration were not gathered, on the other hand,

certain aspects of policy were examined through the responses from the ministers. These aspects are mainly concerned with the ministers' appraisals of the relationships between national policy and the local process toward racial inclusiveness. Data presented in Table I provide a picture of this appraisal.

It should be noted that 323 ministers preferred, or, were otherwise unable, to answer the question.<sup>2</sup> Eighty-two of the ministers responded by giving their evaluations of the role of national policy in the development of racially inclusive congregations. Of these 82 there were 35 who indicated that in their judgments such policy statements were of "no help." Of the few comments made at this point several will convey a general picture of the ministers' feeling. One report stated that "the minority groups were accepted not because of a denominational statement, but because they (majority group) thought it right." Another minister indicated that "resolutions in themselves are of little help; concrete specific guidance and definite official help in specific situations is much more important." Another comment was simply: "Our people had not found it necessary to learn denominational policy."

A rather hasty assessment of these abbreviated data on policy and other related data in the study points up several areas of concern doubtless found in other organizations but perhaps more difficult of solutions among those organizations based mainly on voluntary associations of persons. In the first place, there is the problem of meaningful communication. There appears to be rather sparse knowledge at the local level of the expressed policies at the national level. Secondly, there are factors other than national policy that are far more directly operative in the group's becoming racially inclusive. In the third place, it seems important that attention should be devoted to problems of how to tap and apply within a local situation, the resources generally thought to be associated with denominational policy. This must deal minutely with the relationship between policy statements formulated outside of a given group situation and the process of changing behavior patterns within the given group.

It has just been indicated above that there appear factors other than national denominational policy that are more directly operative in the process of developing a racially inclusive congregation. In the first place, data reveal that a *local church policy*, in either a written and publicised form or in the form of unwritten customary ways of behavior, are strong determining forces in the lives of the people. However, when the main drive and direction of the controlling forces

<sup>2</sup> The wording of this question was checked before and after pre-testing and the clarity of it was fully established before its use in the survey.

in the church are identical to or very similar to those in the surrounding community, there is little hope that the church will pioneer in changing patterns of human relations. In the second place data indicate that the process of developing a racially inclusive congregation is affected by the patterns of interaction among persons accepted as local leaders in the congregation. In one instance, in describing the process of personal interaction involved, the minister indicated that "the congregation followed (the) lead, with some reluctance." Another stated that "we merely presented our prospective Negro member to the church session as we do other prospects. On motion he was received into full fellowship." It should be noted, nevertheless, that the absence of denominational policy provides ample grounds for many local groups to avoid facing this issue squarely. This is well supported by comments from ministers who found national policy a "positive aid" in changing local behavior patterns so as to include non-white persons within the Christian fellowship.

#### INITIATIVE

Data were gathered on the matter of who took the initiative in the process of racial integration. About one quarter of the ministers did not respond at all to this question. Another quarter of them indicated that they "did not know" who initiated the contact. Approximately another one fourth indicated that the racial minority person initiated the contact by approaching someone already in the church group. The remaining fourth stated that the contact was initiated by someone already in the church group. The study examines these data more closely in relationship to the evangelical role of the church in its community as well as the role of the church in helping to develop the feeling of community among residents in a geographical parish area.

#### REACTION

An analysis of the reactions of majority group persons to new racial minority persons reveals interesting patterns of interaction involving the pastor, supported in some instances by liberal lay persons, and in others opposed by those who would maintain the status quo in the pattern of human relations. Of the 405 cases subjected to more intensive analysis there were 288 indications by ministers that this event was "accepted as a normal event." Ninety-three of them reported that they had observed or had been involved in informal discussions of this matter. (This category is not exclusive of the first category involving 288 ministers.) It should be noted finally that in fifty-two instances the question of receiving persons of racial minorities into the fellowship of the church and/or its program was brought

before official governing bodies of the congregation for their consideration and action. Thirty-five or about two thirds of these cases resulted in acceptance. For example "it was agreed that the negro (sic) children should remain in the SS and any others would also be cordially received." Another instance of the first Negro applying for membership resulted in official consideration of the racial factor and action reported by the minister as ". . . unanimously approved for membership." Again, the matter of children in the Sunday School was of special concern because some of them were of dark skin; it was resolved, reports the minister, that ". . . the children be permitted to attend Sunday School and participate in the activities of the church as well as the parents." The remaining 17 of the 52 cases were disposed of in the following manner as reported by the ministers: 1), disposition was either pending or not indicated in nine instances; 2), four of the cases resulted in acceptance "with qualifications"; and 3), four more cases were disposed of through initial rejection of certain non-white persons—subsequent inclusion of non-white persons constitute the reason for these cases being in this study.

#### THE MINISTER

Fundamental to the behavior and action of an individual is his perception of the given situation within which he acts. Lewin has stated this as a basic principle in understanding and determining the action of individuals: ". . . the action of an individual depends directly on the way in which he perceives the situation."<sup>3</sup> It would seem that the pattern of action of a minister in providing or in *not* seeking to provide a ministry to *all* persons in his church neighborhood is significantly influenced by what he perceives to be the attitudes and possible behavior reactions of other persons involved in one way or another in the situation. Among questions designed to gather data at this point was one seeking the ministers' understanding as to why non-white persons might not care to affiliate or attend a white or predominantly white church.

Analysis of the data on this particular question revealed that thirty percent (the highest single block) "reasoned" that "they (non-white persons) prefer to attend a church with their own group." Less than 20 percent of the 52 ministers, who reported "official consideration" of the acceptance of non-white persons, also "reasoned" as did the thirty percent block just mentioned. The responses of the fifty-two ministers at this particular point were weighted heavily in sup-

<sup>3</sup> Lewin, Kurt, (Gertrud Lewin, editor) *Resolving Social Conflicts*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948.

**Table I**  
**MINISTERS' EVALUATION OF DENOMINATIONAL**  
**POLICY STATEMENTS WITH REFERENCE TO**  
**RACIAL INTEGRATION**

Ministers' estimates	Number of ministers (or churches)	Breakdown according to the percentage of racial minority persons in a single congregation.		
		1 per cent or less	1.1-9.9 per cent	10.0 per cent & up
Positive aid	20	9	9	2
Some help	27	11	12	4
No help	35	18	13	4
Did not respond	323	133	159	31
TOTALS	405	171	193	41

port of such "reasons" as "they (non-white persons) would find Christian fellowship an uphill grade." Or, "there would be little or no opportunity for leadership participation."

It is not concluded by the investigator that the process of "official consideration" or a conflict situation is required in order to gain human relations insights. On the other hand, there seems to be a great and urgent need for the ministers to ask questions and seek answers far beyond the usual comment which tends to stifle investigation—namely, the statement that "they prefer to be with their own group." This is an educational problem which is doubtless faced not alone by the churches.

The ministers were also asked to appraise the process of racial integration in which they found themselves with special reference to the values of racially inclusive groups. With the exception of 53 responses which were not classifiable\* due to insufficient time in the pastorate and other similar reasons, all of the ministers were basically favorable in their appraisals. A number of the comments, while favorable, did point up some of the types of problems anticipated. For example, one minister stated "it is hard to say: we have one family, parents of about 65 (age), children from 13 up. The contact so far has been good; it may become less so when the boy in the family begins looking for dates." Another aspect of the older and younger generation difference was indicated by the minister who stated that "the intermingling in the church has been a real value in a spiritual way to the life of the congregation. However, there is still a feeling of separation on the part of the old-time families of the town. . . ." Still another indication of an age factor operating in the process: "On the whole, inspiring, uplifting, enriching. Only spotted

\* Six graduate student research workers participated in setting up categories at this point which were mutually acceptable to the members of the group.

resistance among some prejudiced older members." Other types of qualifications included a concern for differences in socio-economic and educational status. Now and then there were statements which indicated that the racial minority persons were thought of as "exceptions to the usual run-of-their-group."

#### A CROSS-SECTION

The raw materials of human resources with which a minister must work are essentially the same and in many instances the identical raw material with which leaders in other agencies do and must work. Among Christians one can observe about everything in the scale of opinions on this subject and their behavior patterns or verbalizations run the gamut. This is well substantiated by the data examined in a section titled "A Cross-section of Christians." Table II represents

Table II  
A DOZEN SELECTED\* PARISHIONER REACTIONS  
INDICATING EXTREMES OF VIEWPOINT  
FOUND IN SINGLE CONGREGATIONS

Document No.	Plus Factor	Minus Factor
1061	The hardest workers we have.	I'll leave the church if they become members.
3490	Forward step in our Christian experience.	Will cause split in church.
3458	We <b>must</b> bring them in, make them welcome; this is their church.	Absolute rejection of minority members.
1321	It's the only Christian thing to do.	If you receive "niggers," I resign.
75	A judge — completely friendly: "The ground is level at the Cross."	A faded social flower who wouldn't give an inch until I gave her the job of telling Negroes they weren't wanted. They belong with their own.
2053	We can do nothing else as Christians.	Left the church.
4	Responded warmly right away.	We should do for them but not with them.
1305	I wish you would seat her beside me in the choir.	You can do it, but I'm against it.
1263	It is good for our young people.	I guess I'll find another church.
2030	If _____ is not permitted to join the choir, then I quit.	Will the children want to marry <b>our</b> children?
2002	She's wonderful; so cultured and talented.	What are they doing here?
3717	I'd like to have that Negro man in our choir.	

\* Selected on the basis of providing the sharpest extremes or differences of opinion or attitude.

some of the extremes of opinions or evaluations—each pair found within a single congregation. Such a wide range of parishioner-attitude naturally faces the minister with varying degrees of human relations problems within the local Christian group.

Of course, not all of the 'minus factors' are to be found among the parishioners. A number of the ministers responding to the initial questionnaire rendered comments which clearly placed them, as individuals, in categories of those who resist racially inclusive fellowship. It is pointed out, however, that none of the ministers of the 1,331 churches, classified as racially inclusive, fall in this particular category. These 'minus factors' among the ministers occurred between 20 and 25 times out of the 4,810 returns. One of these few stated "my congregation is all white and as far I am concerned it will always remain so." Another stated "what can this accomplish? We are seeing Negroes coming in (neighborhood)—want *our* opinion? There is no place for it!" Another minister in a rather lengthy letter stated among other thing that

"... races have a tendency to prefer the society of their own kind. No freedom is more fundamental or more precious than the freedom of the choice of associates. Tolerance is promoted, not hindered, by this freedom. Tolerance, like the 'quality of mercy' cannot be forced. Any attempt to compel tolerance awakens intolerance and sometimes hatred and other wicked emotions. . . ."

On the other hand, by far the great majority of comments by ministers from non-racially inclusive churches indicate that they constitute a reservoir of potential human resources for the churches at this point in their life and work. A significant number of these ministers deplored the segregated residential patterns in their communities. Far too few, however, indicated that they were actually working toward the solution of this problem.

#### SUMMARY

Areas dealt with in this paper have been treated in more detail in the full research report. A cursory glance at these and some other aspects of the data in the study indicate that in the process of racial inclusion in these Protestant churches several things of importance should be noted.

In the first place it is important to understand the nature of the control of individual members in voluntary associations of persons, especially as it pertains to Protestant churches in general.

Secondly, due to a number of organizational and other factors, there appeared a tendency among the churches in this study to develop

a "front room" type of integration. This phenomenon is accompanied by indifference to the fact that social and organizational life of the church goes on without the kind of fellowship atmosphere which conveys an UNMISTAKABLE "WELCOME" to others not already in the group. This needs immediate and concerted attention by the ministers.

In the third place, a local church which clearly places itself on record in favor of an expressed national policy of racial integration, or which adopts such a policy for its own local group will facilitate the inclusion of persons of differing racial groups. Initiative from non-white persons tends to be more frequent when this is the case. Local policy, however, is essentially an expression of the customary ways of behavior of the members of the local group and therefore such policy is strongly determined by the constellation of personalities on the local scene. This brings us to a fourth factor of crucial importance in the process of racial integration among these churches. It is the role of the minister.

The minister whose conception of human relations includes the idea that "they (non-white persons) prefer to be with their own group (meaning their color group)," has weighted himself with a serious bit of stereotype which stifles social change in the churches toward the ideal of Christian brotherhood. Data also reveal a great need for further self-examination on the part of the ministers and other local leaders. In order to learn to what extent their perceptions of their own roles in relation to others in the community actually determine the limitations of their own activity toward developing a racially and culturally inclusive group. The study will show numerous instances of convictions being almost completely banned from expression by the "potential opposition" expected from others. Among many of the ministers there appears to be a strong fear of altering the customary role which he conceives of himself as playing in relation to these "others."

In the fifth place, the study points up the need for local leadership to deal immediately with certain practices resulting in a truncated evangelism or out-reach when non-white persons move into the church neighborhood.

Numerous fears relating to social as well as to biological phenomena have permeated to the core of the practice of our Christian fellowship. As a result, instead of a live warm body of fellowship, too many of our churches exhibit an emaciated skeleton of human relations. It is past time for us to free ourselves from such fears, be they born of whatever source, and to forthwith develop enterprises of faith. Enterprises in which there will be a re-discovery of the real

*(Continued on page 96)*

## WHEN WHITE CHILDREN ARE IN THE MINORITY

Joseph Rosner

The problems of minority group children have been of concern to individuals and groups involved in working through intergroup hostilities. Desegregation has vast implications for millions of children throughout the land. As a result of the recent Supreme Court decision, both the Negro and white children will have an opportunity to interact for the first time in school settings in many areas of the United States. While it is the Negro child who is usually in a subservient position because of numerical or social inferiority, it is interesting to consider what would happen if the roles were reversed and the white group became the minority in both instances. Ordinarily these two conditions cannot both be fulfilled at the same time or place. A recent research, however, undertaken in two children's institutions for neglected, dependent and delinquent children, provided just such an opportunity.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes toward self, color and racial role of selected white boys in Institution A and Institution B. A comparative study of individual and group self-perception was made in two selected groups of white children, one in which the whites were a minority in the institutional setting and another in which they were a majority. The research explored whether group behavior was in fact based on group status and the role played and whether *white* boys in a *minority* group (Institution A) behaved differently than *white* boys who were in a *majority*, (Institution B), or if the total cultural background was so strong that they continued to act as if in the majority in all cases. This study offered an unusual opportunity to see what happened in a setting where there has been an opportunity for complete contact between white and Negro children. In Institution A, white children and white adults in authority were in the minority. In Institution B the white children and white adults were in the majority. Thus, both institutions presented the reverse picture insofar as children and adults were concerned in relation to their numerical and social structures.

Both institutions accepted emotionally disturbed children with the same general problems for treatment. The subjects for the study, chosen from the white population in both institutions investigated, were remanded by the Children's Court of the City of New York. The comparative data used in describing the two groups was limited to referral source (Children's Court), race (white), age (mean age 12.0), I.Q. (mean I.Q. 93.4), religion (Catholic and Protestant), and psychiatric diagnosis (primary behavior disorder and psychoneuro-

sis). In addition, the nativity of parents, socio-economic status and dwelling facilities were equated. The reports of the probation officers on each child gave the above information. It was of interest to note that the children presented a wide variety of home backgrounds coming from diverse sections of the city, and living on different socio-economic levels.

No selection was employed at either institution, since the total population of white boys meeting the above conditions of the study, in both institutions, were included. The total number of children selected finally, was ten in each institution. The small number of children made it possible to study intensively the backgrounds and present life adjustments as they involved interracial relationships. It was not within the province of this study to investigate the attitudes and actions of the Negro children at either institution. Psychotic children were excluded from the study.

The children were tested and interviewed at each institution. One investigator saw each child in a private room that was not emotionally charged for him. Candy was available at all times and a permissive atmosphere was maintained during all interviews. The children were told that their cooperation was voluntary. In one instance a boy decided not to involve himself in the study and left. This was encouraged by the investigator because of the boy's obvious hostility. He returned when another boy who was seen earlier reassured him that "the man in the room is O.K." The privacy of an opinion was promised by the interviewer. Knowing the words used at each institution was of great importance in helping the children express themselves. It created rapport more quickly with children who often find adults hostile and ununderstanding of their needs.

The children were given the Trager-Yarrow Social Episodes Test and had their first interview immediately after the Test. The Test consisted of three pictures each depicting play situations familiar to children. The first interview was a general discussion of the physical facilities of each institution and the friends the children had there. The children were seen in such a way that it was unlikely that friends would be able to prepare each other for the Test and interview. Where this did occur, in the instance already mentioned, it had no deleterious effect on the procedure or the child. The second and third interviews were also given each child at the institution shortly thereafter.

Parents were interviewed at home. Arrangements for these interviews varied. Parents were contacted by telephone and letter. In some instances it was found that less anxiety was produced if the interviewer simply presented himself without previously communicating

with the parent. In the lower socio-economic range this was found effective. The study was presented to the parents as a cooperative study undertaken by the Center for Human Relations, New York University, together with the institution involved. The parents were approached initially regarding the change in population which had taken place in their neighborhoods in the past ten years. This approach was found effective in helping parents express their feelings towards members of various minority groups. Since population shifts have taken place in New York City in the past few years, the question was relevant to all the parents contacted. Only one parent refused to be interviewed, out of a total of twenty case studies. In this instance it was known that this parent maintained a common-law relationship with her husband and was defensive about being seen even by institutional personnel.

Counselors, cottage parents and caseworkers were interviewed in order to complete the study of each child. Care was taken to establish relationships with the above groups of workers by contacting individuals on the recommendation of their friends at each institution. The investigator knew a few people at each institution studied and was thus able to use this method in order to establish rapport with the actual workers involved in the study. This part of the study was designed to obtain the day to day experiences of the children involved in the study. In addition it helped to give the self picture of the adult involved, insofar as it concerned his interracial attitudes. The final phase of the study was to read the case records of all the children in the study in order to obtain relevant background data on each individual child including his interracial adjustment at each institution.

The study indicated that the white children in both institutions were almost unanimously prejudiced against Negroes. However, the prejudice expressed verbally by the white children in both institutions did not usually express itself in the behavior of these same children. In brief, the prejudice that was obviously a part of the personality pattern of each child did not necessarily express itself in the form of discrimination or action. Both groups of white children accommodated themselves to their situations and accepted the total institutional atmosphere. Actions, it was discovered, could be influenced either by the behavior of the majority of children, where the authority was permissive, or by the behavior of the authority where the authority was not permissive. In Institution A, where the authority was permissive, and Negroes were in the majority, the role of the majority group was emphasized by the fact that Negroes cursed whites, but whites did not openly curse Negroes. The entire institution which

was permissive in its treatment philosophy, showed little prejudice on the part of the adults in positions of authority. However more open swearing and physical aggressions occurred over a given period of time. The role of the authorities in Institution B was much less permissive in relation to general institutional management and racial aggressions in particular than that of Institution A. However, it was discovered that while discrimination was forbidden, prejudice was overt on the part of staff and children alike at Institution B. The children in this latter institution openly joked about Negroes in imitation of the adults there. They called Negroes "jungle bunny," "charcoal" and other equally uncomplimentary names.

It was found in both institutions that children who were both prejudiced and discriminating came from homes where prejudice on the part of at least one parent was usually overt. The study, as planned, could not be certain that the harsh open prejudice stated by the parents of these children, was actually carried over into discriminatory action. However, it would be safe to assume so, since the children displayed this behavior in no uncertain terms at both Institution A and Institution B.

The group that was the majority in both institutions appeared to dominate the setting in terms of values, judgments, and verbal expression. The basic hypothesis of the study was thus supported in that it appeared that when white children became the minority in a group situation, their attitudes and actions differed from white children who were members of a majority group in a comparable institutional setting.

In considering what may be necessary for the future in relation to interracial education, it would seem that the authorities in charge cannot appear so permissive that prejudices will turn into discriminatory action against the numerical or socially unacceptable minority. Prejudices should be verbalized as an aid to release, expression and change. The children involved in this social change should be helped to realize that the negative feelings they have do not have to be translated into action. Helping children resolve this conflict which is also present in many other areas of their lives, will become the task of the educator in the immediate future and will help to determine the success or failure of translating a policy into a successful program.

Dr. Joseph Rosner is psychiatric social worker at the Bureau of Child Guidance, Board of Education, of New York City.

## **THE INTEGRATION OF NEGROES IN BASEBALL**

**Dan W. Dodson**

At the present time there are 22 Negroes playing on Major League Baseball teams, and some seventy or eighty in the totality of organized baseball. Thus in eight years America's most prominent national sport has moved from a tradition of seventy years discrimination to almost complete integration. Only eight clubs have no persons of the Negro race. (They are the New York Yankees, Baltimore Orioles, Washington Senators, Boston Red Sox and Detroit Tigers of the American League and the Philadelphia club of the National League).

The beginning of this undertaking, which started with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1945 is of considerable significance to educators and community workers who are to assume the leadership in integrating school systems and other agencies as a result of the desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court. It is proposed in this account to relate some of the steps involved in the crash of the color line with the employment of Jackie Robinson in October 1945, by the Brooklyn Club, and follow it through the three years that this author had a relationship to it. The analysis will be as it was seen from the vantage point of the Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity of New York City—the administrator of a program designed to improve relations between the racial and religious in that community—while he served as advisor to Branch Rickey, the President of the baseball club.

### **BACKGROUND CLIMATE**

America was at war, presumably to defeat racism. Riots had occurred in New York City, Detroit, and Beaumont, Texas in the summer of 1943. The President of the United States had issued the 8802 order creating the Fair Employment Practices Committee. Negro baseball clubs had developed with considerable investment and equity in the perpetuation of the segregated pattern. In fact, they had asked for a committee from organized baseball to work with them toward better scheduling and perhaps eventual recognition of them as a part of the organized baseball structure, and Rickey of the Dodgers and McPhail of the Yankees had been appointed by their respective leagues to represent organized baseball in negotiating with them.

In spring training in several instances, during the previous seasons try-outs had been asked for by Negro players, but nothing had ever come of it. The Negro press was complaining bitterly that there was discrimination against Negro players, for their own segregated clubs

were beginning to demonstrate that they had baseball talent. In addition, many of the Negro players had played with or against "barn-storming" groups of white players in off season games and some, particularly Satchel Paige, had shown up to a good advantage.

In the spring of 1945 a new pressure group was formed in New York City called the "End Jim Crow In Baseball Committee." They were holding street meetings and receiving considerable publicity. Abroad, America's treatment of Negroes was becoming increasingly embarrassing as she tried to square domestic practice with war aims. Thus there was set a situation pregnant with possibilities for social change.

#### THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY

It would be hard to assess the forces that went into the success of this venture, without reckoning with the personality of Branch Rickey. He is often called "The Deacon." He is of Methodist persuasion, and very active in his church's affairs. He had never seen his teams play on Sunday at the time I worked with him.

My impression was that he was intensely interested in youth and wanted to help them get their chance. He seemed to have little interest in men who had made the grade. He was always selling men when they became famous stars, but he had built in St. Louis, and was to repeat in Brooklyn, one of the strongest baseball organizations in the business. This interest in youth was contagious among those with whom he worked. Rickey had a great sense of concern about the discrimination against Negroes in baseball. In my first interview with him he said "When I was a coach in a mid-western college, I took my team to play in a near-by town. They would not allow a Negro player on my team to have a room at the hotel. I finally persuaded them to let him stay in my room on a cot.

"The player sat on the side of my bed and cried and pulled at one hand with the other and said 'God, Mr. Rickey! If I could only change the color of my skin'. This made such an impression on me that I decided if I ever had an opportunity I was going to do something for the Negro race. In St. Louis they made him sit in separate parts of the park. I resolved when I came here that the time had arrived to do something about it."

In contrast to this response was that of McPhail of the Yankees. When I called on him, in his inimitable way he said:

"You d—d professional doogooders know nothing about baseball. It is a business. Our organization rented our parks to the Negro Leagues last year for about \$100,000. That is about the return we made on our investment. The investment of the Negro Clubs is also

legitimate. I will not jeopardize my income nor their investment until some way can be worked out whereby it will not hurt the Negro Leagues for the major leagues to take an occasional player of theirs." He had no suggestion, however, as to how this could be done. It was clear he was thinking of maintaining segregation in the minor leagues and expecting the Negroes to get the training that would fit them for participation in the "big show" of the majors.

I am convinced that without the intelligence, personality, and dedication of a Rickey, it would have been very hard, indeed, to have successfully crashed the color line in baseball.

#### ASSESSING OPPPOSITION

In the first interview with Rickey, he indicated what he thought would be the major sources of opposition. They were as follows:

1) The players. He thought of the three major obstacles this would be the least, provided he could find a good enough player that they would be convinced would help them win a pennant. He thought they would resent a player hired simply because he was a Negro.

2) The other owners. He said they could never attack him openly, but in a thousand ways from scheduling to policy formation—they would give him trouble.

3) The thing he feared most was the venom of some of the sports writers. He said many of them were from the South. They were always ready to criticize breaks with tradition. They, too, could never attack him openly, but obliquely they would make it as hard for him as possible. Since success of baseball as an amusement depends upon good public relations, this would be most hazardous of all.

That these three assessments were about right, time substantiated. Only one player asked to be traded. He later asked for the letter of request to be returned to him.

The other clubs sent their scouts through the South and told young players they would have to play with Negroes if they signed with the Dodgers. In the first year, while Robinson was attracting 300,000 extra to the gate, Rickey estimated that he lost \$500,000 in player production because of this advantage over his scouts. One of them left the organization the next year, because of the handicap under which he labored.

The second season after the signing of Robinson (Robinson's first in the majors) Happy Chandler, the Baseball Commissioner, banished

the Dodger manager, Leo Durocher, for one year, on charges made by McPhail, but which McPhail said later were much less severe than the penalties given. It was in this year that Rickey brought Shotten in as manager and won the pennant. In loyalty to Durocher, however, he brought his banished manager back the next year in face of heavy criticism. Many of us will always believe that it was Chandler's way of getting at Rickey, whom he could not touch personally, but whose manager was vulnerable.

At a meeting of the owners in the winter of 1945 one is alleged to have made an impassioned speech to the effect that Rickey had ruined baseball by what he had done. I asked Mr. Rickey what he did. He said, "I started at first to answer. Then I said to myself, 'It's water over the dam and they can't pour it back.'" This capacity to see things in perspective is characteristic of the man.

The first barrage of the newspaper men was to the effect that he had robbed the Negro League. Robinson swore he was not under contract, but this seemed to make no difference. A large section of the sports press was favorable to the action. Many were not convinced, however, that Rickey meant business. Others took up the chant that he was merely exploiting the Negroes for publicity, and had no intention of carrying through.

After this first barrage, the opposition of the fourth estate attacked him for his miserliness. Powers, of the Daily News rarely referred to Rickey for over a year except in terms such as "El Cheapo." He wrote a scurrilous article from Florida in spring training season of 1946 raising the fears and doubts about what would happen if integration were attempted. The Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Baseball and I, as its secretary, released a statement challenging his position. It is interesting to note with regard to the charge of miserliness, that the players on the club made Rickey a gift of a boat in a public ceremony in the park in the fall of 1946. At least his players, I am sure, never thought of him as a "penny pincher."

#### PLANNING STRATEGY

The remainder of the summer from July 1945 to October's end was a time of strategy planning. The whole climate of community had to be changed. The job could not be done in a climate of controversy and acrimony. Mr. Rickey believed the End Jim Crow In Baseball Committee to be Communist inspired. He had no confidence in them. He had investigated me before he ever acknowledged my letter which asked for an appointment to discuss this problem with

him. Apparently, after he had spent thirty minutes quizzing me, he decided he could trust me.

He needed help. Could we get this Committee out of the way until he had a chance to do something? Could I help him get together the material on Negroes in other sports? What about the new Law against Discrimination? To whom could he turn for guidance in the larger community? In the Negro Community? When should the signing of a contract be announced? What did we know about how integration is accomplished? What experience was there?

#### CHANGING COMMUNITY CLIMATE

The first problem was obviously that of community climate. As Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity I suggested that we seek the aid of the newly formed State Commission Against Discrimination In Employment. With this Mr. Rickey agreed. They declined the invitation to work on the problem, saying they were an official body and there might be a formal complaint against the baseball clubs, and if they were working with them and then had to sit as judges over them they would be embarrassed.

I then went to the chairman of our committee, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, Jr. and asked if we could not persuade Mayor LaGuardia to appoint such a committee. LaGuardia agreed. In addition to the citizens of the community, Mr. Rickey and Mr. McPhail were also asked to join the committee as representatives of the two leagues. The appointment of the committee gave Rickey access to a few men whom he could consult—notably Dr. John H. Johnson of St. Martin's Episcopal Church of Harlem, Judge Edward S. Lazansky, and such help as I and my staff could give.

In addition, the appointment of the committee made it possible for me to go to the End Jim Crow group and ask that they call off their operations—especially a demonstration they had planned both at Ebbets Field and the Polo Grounds. Further it assuaged feelings in the community that "nothing was being done."\*

This symbolic action—the appointment of a committee is a standard technique for delaying action. Some one should develop criteria for determining conditions under which such action is a justifiable

\* Parenthetically, this was one of the toughest decisions I ever had to make while in office. The major purpose I could see for the committee was that it was a stall for time. You could not tell its members this. Yet had Mr. Rickey not delivered—Had he been bluffing, as so many contended—I would have been totally discredited and the Mayor's Committee On Unity would have been impaired immeasurably through the loss of public confidence.

risk as against a deliberate stall of social action.

It would have been disastrous to the outcome of the enterprise—in my judgment—had the appearance been given that a Negro was employed in Organized Baseball either because of the new law or because of a pressure group program. Undoubtedly, however, both contributed to the initiation of the venture, and the venture was less difficult, no doubt, because both were realities.

#### THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

How proceed with process?

Mr. Rickey had already spent about \$5,000.00 scouting the Negro players. He thought he had found the man he wanted to start with, Jackie Robinson. He didn't think he was the best player. (He probably changed his mind later), but he was the best for the integration experiment. He was a college man—culturally the peer of any man on his team. He had played with and against whites. (This was of great significance later. His organization thought two subsequent players did not "make the grade" because they were Southern Negroes who tended to "freeze" when the whites started insulting them. Robinson, on the other hand, tended to be his best when he was under such pressure. He was what they called a "money player").

The story of Rickey's sessions with Robinson have been widely publicized.<sup>1</sup> He used what came to be called "role playing" situations with him to test his reactions to some social situations. He was anxious that Robinson cooperate in being a ball player and not try to be a social reformer. He tried to impress on him that his greatest reform service would be to perform so well and control himself so completely that he and those of his race to follow would be accepted. This pattern was followed religiously for the first year and one-half.

The next integration problems were:

1) What should be the timing of the announcement? I urged that it be after the 1945 season, but before contract signing time, in order that every player, when he returned to negotiate his contract, would understand that he might play with a Negro. If it were announced after contracts were signed they might feel they had been taken advantage of.

2) Where should he be assigned? Rickey felt he would assign a white man under comparable circumstances to a farm club. He so assigned Robinson. Montreal was ideal. It was a community in the

<sup>1</sup> An excellent account of the entire story is Bill Roeder, *Jackie Robinson*, New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1950.

North, a large French-Canadian population without so much prejudice, etc.

3) How to deal with the players? All the information we possessed said, "You don't ask the players if they *want* to play with Negroes." You assume you have the right to employ qualified people. Obviously to have hired a Negro simply because he was a Negro, and put a "bush leaguer" on the field and have him "slaughtered" (figuratively) would have set race relations back and discredited the entire undertaking. "Firmness of policy" was also urged on Mr. Rickey. This he followed, but with intelligence. With his persuasiveness, he overcame many doubting Thomases.

4) Rickey didn't ask players to accept a minority player. Instead, he tried to create climate conducive to his acceptance. A few illustrations will suffice. In the year in Montreal, Robinson made a good record. At one stage he was benched with a "Charley Horse." The team was behind in the game. Mr. Rickey had ordered that he be rested. When he picked up the morning paper he noted that he had been sent in the game at a late stage, and had been instrumental in the win. He called the manager to find out why. The manager apologized but said, "The players asked for him, because he could help them pull the game out." Robinson thereupon volunteered to go into the game. The acceptance because of team need did not occur by happenstance.

A second illustration. After the year in Montreal, now bring him into the Majors? The strategy was carefully planned. The Dodgers were sent in spring training to the Caribbean. There they played against local teams with many Negro and dark Spanish members. The Montreal Club with Robinson was left in Florida.

Then the Dodgers were brought to Florida and played exhibition games with the Montreal Club in Florida and later at Ebbetts Field. Then Robinson's contract was sold to Brooklyn on the eve of three exhibition games with the Yankees—the last games preceding the opening of the season. Thus the team had been conditioned to playing against Negroes, then introduced to Robinson—then he was given a chance to play as a Dodger three games before the season started. In this strategy (all planned before spring training), it was hoped the team would be led by successive stages to want Robinson as a man who could help win a pennant.

A third illustration. At first Robinson had to take all the abuse the opposing team heaped on him. However, the time came about

mid-season when some of the players told him to take no more; they would back him up.

Thus I believe there is illustrated a vital point—You don't worry about prejudices people possess too much. You create situations which bring them together for common purposes and allow them to work out their relations to each other in the best climate you can create.

5) In this climate problem it is important to keep in mind competitive relationships. I was concerned because Robinson was a second baseman. The Dodgers already had about the best second baseman in the League in Eddie Stanky. I was afraid that if the press carried a continuous chatter about whether Robinson could take Stanky's job away from him that morale would suffer. I suggested that he should not be put in a competitive role, and raised this problem. Mr. Rickey winked and said, "I have first base open. I think he can play that." Later when Stanky was sold, Robinson was moved to second base. Thus there was averted one of the oldest fears, namely, "The Negro is going to take the white man's job and vice versa."

#### **MEETING NEW SETS OF CHANGED RELATIONSHIPS**

Once this process was started whole sets of changed relationships emerged. I shall mention these and comment on them briefly.

1) Response of the Negro community. As could be expected, the Negro community received the movement with great enthusiasm. Special trains ran from Chicago and Detroit to see Robinson play in Buffalo. Mr. Rickey feared that over-enthusiasm might hurt the cause. Hence a meeting was held with Negro community leadership at which only four of us who were white were present. Here he laid his fears before them. As a result, cards were printed and widely distributed saying, "Don't spoil Jackie's chance." Ministers cautioned from their pulpits. Negro newspaper sport columns carried good articles interpreting the importance of Negroes behaving responsibly at games. Herbert Miller was enlisted to go to other National League towns to do a comparable job.

2) The problem of hotel accommodations and eating facilities on trips. The position was taken that the Brooklyn Club could not assume that responsibility for discrimination in these places. However, as time went on these places of accommodation were held up to ridicule by the press. Most communities now (Baltimore is still an exception) accept baseball teams as teams.

3) Local communities were faced with new examination of local policies. In spring training the first year, the Dodgers were scheduled to play another club in a Florida town. The opposing club called up to say there was a law in that town to the effect that racially mixed groups could not play together in the city limits. Hence, Rickey would have to cancel the game." He replied, "I will not cancel the game. I will not leave my Negro players behind. We will be there at 2:00 p.m. as scheduled. Whoever cancels the game will take the responsibility for it. I won't make their moral compromise for them."

Significantly, two years later when spring training schedules were being arranged one of the large Georgia towns wanted the Dodgers to play their local club. To this Rickey responded, "If I can bring my whole team." "What do you mean by that?" they asked. "My Negro players," said Rickey. "Hell, that's who we want to see play," they responded.

4) Organized Baseball had to readjust. The best illustration relates to an exceptionally fine person—Ford Frick, then President of the National League, now Commissioner of Organized Baseball. My notes say that when I interviewed him in July of 1945 he showed interest, but was dubious of the wisdom of immediate integration. "Baseball is highly competitive. Many players are from the South. (My research reveals 35% were from 13 southern states.) A Negro player sliding into a white man at second base might start a fight—this might produce a riot. We should begin way down in the Minor leagues and get them accustomed to playing together before they reach the Majors." Almost two years to a day the St. Louis Cardinals came to Ebbets Field and threatened to revolt rather than play against Robinson. Whereupon Frick is reported to have said: "This is the United States of America. If it wrecks the National League for five years, the man is going to have his chance." Needless to say there was no revolt. The growth of the persons in power positions is a significant dimension of this case study.

#### PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION

Since space does not permit further description of this action the following tentative principles are listed as possible conclusions:

- 1) Don't ask people if they would like to change. Undoubtedly the great majority of people in baseball would have said "No" had they been polled.
- 2) Begin with a firm statement of policy and don't equivocate. Once opposition thinks you will listen, you are headed for trouble.

3) Don't worry about attitudes of people who are asked to accept new members. Set new relationships on basis of factors other than those in which prejudice is involved, e.g. winning the pennant was a issue, not integrating baseball.

4) Don't make moral compromises for those whose responsibility is that of decision making. The refusal to shield the policy makers in Florida hastened their own moral growth as they wrestled with the issues in which they had to accept moral responsibilities attendant on their choices.

5) Don't accept defensive role for your behavior. A student of mine asked Mr. Rickey why he had hired Robinson. He replied, "I don't have to answer that question. You have to answer instead, 'Why shouldn't I?'" He was good enough to wear Uncle Sam's uniform. He is a qualified ball player. Why shouldn't I?" This type of approach can't be answered and cannot be challenged publicly.

6) Use community resources. Rickey used Mayor's Committee on Unity, Y.M.C.A., the churches; the Negro press, etc.

7) Be sensitive to timing. Integration could not have happened ten years earlier, perhaps.

8) Produce best climate possible in which people relate to each other. The position played, spring training strategy, work on neutralizing End Jim Crow Committee in Baseball, etc. All were involved in this aspect of the program.

9) Bring representatives together as peers. Some thought Negroes should be pitchers only because they would not be associating with whites in the same way as they would as regular players. This would have been almost a Jim Crow position and probably would have been disastrous.

10) Don't meddle with relationships between members, once integration starts. Let members work out their own relationships. Forcing relationships makes for trouble.

11) Assess opposition and try to meet it positively.

12) Be prepared for oblique attacks. Opposition can rarely attack frontally and openly. It is at other points that they seek to undermine your leadership.

## **AN HISTORIC INSTANCE OF THE MUTUAL INVOLVEMENT OF SOUTHERN NEGRO AND WHITE PEOPLE**

**W. L. GRAHAM**

The question of intergroup relations is perhaps the most continuing social challenge confronting the people of the United States. The multiplicity of racial elements which constitute the national population by no means lessens the gravity of the issue. Inseparable from the numerous ethnic groups is the variety of attitudes, interests, cultural, economic, and historical factors which complicate any attempt to deal with a specific issue in even a moderately satisfactory manner. This observation appears to be particularly applicable to Negro-white relations in the South—a section which finds itself presently faced with the necessity of making a major social adjustment in relations between the dominant native racial groups. With this fact in mind the present article was prepared in connection with an historical study of patterns of intergroup relations resulting from the mutual involvement of segments of two of these indigenous groups in the development of an educational institution during a period of more than seventy years.

The involved groups were the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and the educational institution is Paine College, Augusta, Georgia. Inasmuch as the problem of intergroup relations is a continuing one, it was thought that facets of the relationships resulting from the interaction of the groups probably would contain suggestive implications for the present.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The fact that the study dealt with a positive phase of relations between Southern Negro and white people was of singular significance. This significance was further enhanced by the fact that it represented mutual involvement of the groups in the development of a liberal arts college against a background of widespread opinion in the section concerning an innate limitation in the mentality of Negroes. A quarter of a century after the establishment of the educational enterprise, the idea of a racial limitation in the mentality of the Negro was supported by two major scientific studies by Bean (1905)<sup>1</sup> and Odom (1910).<sup>2</sup> The influence of this particular idea on the thinking of persons responsible for programs of public education in the South is perhaps reflected in a statement from a speech by J. H. Phillips to the superintendents of public education in the Southern states in 1908.

Thousands of Negro children receive no benefit from the schools because they begin too late; the premature closing of the brain sutures causes the early arrest of brain growth, and they remain through life mentally in a state of comparative childhood.<sup>3</sup>

There was also a considerable degree of uncertainty about the type of education which should be provided for Negroes. In matters involving their welfare Negroes themselves were suspicious of the motives of Southern white people. As late as 1934 the cooperatively sponsored institution was the only liberal arts college jointly controlled and administered by a Southern bi-racial group.<sup>4</sup> Another salient factor was the general recognition of a good quality of human relations as essential to national well-being in a democratic society. Then too, it was believed that the apparent success which had attended the cooperative effort might test in a significant way the hypothesis that mutual involvement is one of the significant approaches to the improvement of intergroup relations.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Available evidence substantiates the inference that Negroes have sustained a vital relation to Methodism since its first appearance as a sect in this country. Peter Williams, a Negro, was a member of the original group to which Phillip Embury, an Irish immigrant, preached in 1766.<sup>5</sup> This group became the Johns Street Church (New York), which is by reputation the oldest congregation of Methodists in continental United States. After the division of the denomination in 1844 over the issue of slavery, responsibility for the religious welfare of the majority of Negro members devolved upon the Southern division of the church.

Immediate relations between the involved groups were a continuation of a relationship initiated by a special effort to evangelize Negro slaves prior to the Civil War and projected through a program known as "Plantation Missions." The success of the effort is signalized by the fact that statistics for the year 1860 showed a Negro membership of 207,000.<sup>6</sup> Social disruption during the war years prevented the Methodist Episcopal Church, South from holding a quadrennial session in 1864, and one aspect of the effect of the War is reflected in statistics for the next session of the general conference in 1866. The total membership at this time was only 78,000, a loss of approximately 125,000 members during the six-year period. Those who remained seemed to have evoked an increased sense of responsibility on the part of the white group. By mutual consent the remaining

Negro members were duly organized into a separate denomination in 1840 and became known thereafter as the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. From 1870 to 1882 intergroup relations revolved around the transfer of property, assistance in buying and building churches, and counseling service. Intra-racial unpopularity because of ostensible cordial relations with a Southern white group and widespread poverty within the group appeared to have been the principal reasons for the unsuccessful outcome of efforts exerted by the new denomination to establish an educational institution in which to train an intelligent leadership essential to its survival and progress. A special appeal to the parent denomination in 1882 resulted in the co-operative establishment of the educational institution with an all-Southern white faculty.

#### THE BASES OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT

Prerequisite to the cooperative effort of the two racial groups in an unprecedented situation was the recognition of the common ground on which they stood. Their mutual consent to effect separate organization arrangements affirms their acceptance of separation of the races as desirable under existing conditions. In addressing a conference of the affiliated white denomination Bishop L. H. Holsey aptly labeled the multiple common bonds which united the groups:

Though we are two distinct peoples, or two great bands in one great nation, there is a common interest and a common destiny. Whatever results may come from such a combination must take place in our common country. Whatever affects you, affects us. Whatever advances your interest, must, in a greater or less degree, advance ours. We live in the same zone, born on the same soil, breathe the same vital air, drink from the same streams, bask in the same sunshine. . . . We profess the same religion, read the same Bible, sing the same songs. Indeed, your religion is our religion, your church is our church, your God is our God, your Christ is our Christ, your heaven is our heaven, and your hell is our hell. . . .<sup>7</sup>

He continued,

The Negro is here and en masse he is here to stay. He is an important part of the body politic. He belongs to it as the foot or hand belong to the human body. As such he is a factor in the growth and development of this great civilization.<sup>8</sup>

They were agreed further that "the well-being and stability of all civil governments depend upon the virtue and intelligence of the

subject.<sup>9</sup> Their consensus concerning the education of the Negro was stated perhaps most expressly by a representative of the white group in the following citation:

If the Negro is possessed of mind, he is capable of pursuing those lines of thought by which other races have been led out of the wilderness of barbarism. He must learn what history, science, literature, art and politics have to teach him. He must reason out for himself the philosophy of life and orient himself to the world in which he finds himself. It is not enough for him to learn to work; he must learn to think. Industrial education is good for him, as it is good for the white man, but it is not enough. He must learn to contribute his share to the world's growth, else he will always be an undigested mass in the social organism, retarding rather than advancing its health. . . .<sup>10</sup>

It is significant to note that available documentary material provided no evidence that the involved groups ever concerned themselves with attempting to reach agreement on controversial issues preliminary to undertaking the common task which challenged their immediate attention. The issue was clear and responsibility seemed unmistakable. The authorization for the establishment of the cooperative enterprise stated that:

They have no institutions under their own management for the education of those who are to occupy their pulpits and preside in their schools. Their preachers and teachers, if educated at all, must, for the most part, be educated by those who are not in sympathy with their organization. If they are to make progress, or even to maintain their existence, they must provide for the education of those who are to take charge of their schools and religious congregations. Of themselves they are not able to do this. They have neither the money to establish schools nor the men competent to conduct them; they look to us for aid. As what we have done for them in setting them up for themselves creates the necessity of doing more for them, so this fact justifies the expectation on their part that we will do all that we can. . . .<sup>11</sup>

#### SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Because of the diversity of opinions and ideas concerning the education of Negroes and the formalism regulating interpersonal relations between the two racial groups in the South, primary attention in the study was directed toward the attitudinal and associational

relations in areas of interaction between the cooperating denominations, delegated groups of control and administration, and the college and community. The following descriptive statements appear to be a fair representation of relations between the involved groups for the period under investigation:

1. There appears to have been a fundamental attitude of mutual confidence and faith in the ability of people of intelligence and good will to solve difficult social problems through cooperative effort. This attitude is inherent in the initial commitment to promote a cooperative enterprise in a prevailingly hostile environment. It is also expressed in numerous documents and may be inferred from statements by participating individuals.
2. The bi-racial group promoted the interest of the educational institution apparently uninfluenced by contemporary views about limited ability on the part of Negroes. Particularly significant is the fact that the liberal arts curriculum of the institution was developed while the faculty was composed entirely of Southern white people and under the presidency of two Confederate veterans.
3. In spite of the influence of Booker T. Washington, the impressive examples of Hampton and Tuskegee Institute, the expressed preference of foundations, and the general endorsement of Southern white people, the bi-racial group adhered strictly to a liberal arts emphasis in the work of the institution.
4. An initial interest in developing an intelligent leadership for the participating Negro group evolved ultimately into a concern for the general enhancement and promotion "of the Educational, Missionary Social, and Industrial interests of the Negro race."
5. Mutual involvement in an area of common interest became the basic pattern of approach to the solution of problems in foreign mission work, training of local church leaders, student interracial activities, and community service.
6. Although both groups recognized the improvement of race relations as a desirable outcome of their mutual involvement, the execution of the common task seemed to have been always their primary concern. This emphasis no doubt enlisted the support of many persons who were either satisfied with or indifferent about the existing quality of intergroup relations in the South.
7. Traditional practices and policies in interpersonal relations between the two groups in the South apparently did not affect relations between the participating groups. The absence of such influence is

decidedly noticeable in matters of social courtesy, salary considerations, and personnel placement.

8. By inference predicated upon status and formal training participating persons consistently represented the highest caliber of individuals in their respective denominations.

9. A continual effort to increase the efficiency of the process and to enlarge its area of operation is evident in the change from an all-white to an interracial faculty, a cooperative African mission project, a decision to admit white students, and a joint denial of any justifiable basis for discrimination because of race, religion, or ancestry. It is obvious that the two latter actions negated the original acceptance of separation of the races.

10. The intergroup process seemed to have been highly productive of liberal native leaders whose service in an interracial capacity frequently extended beyond the limit of the cooperative, educational institution. W. W. Alexander as the first director of the Southern Interracial Commission, C. H. Tobias as a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, a reserve delegate to the Paris meeting of the United Nations Assembly, and chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dorothy Tilly as a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and Thelma Stevens as secretary of Christian Social Relations for the Women's Society of Christian Service for the Methodist Church are notable examples.

#### REFERENCES

1. Bean, Robert B., "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain," *American Journal of Anatomy*, V (September, 1906, pp. 353-433.)
2. Odum, Howard W., *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1910, pp. 302.
3. Phillips, J. H., "Negro Education," Southern Educational Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1908, p. 126.
4. Holmes, Dwight O. W., *The Evolution of the Negro College*, 1934, pp. 187-189.
5. Wakeley, J. B., *Lost Chapters from the Early History of American Methodism*, 1858, pp. 441-442.
6. Sweet, William W., *The Story of Religion in America*, 1930, pp. 329-330.
7. Holsey, Lucius H., *Autobiography, Sermons, Addresses, and Essays*, 1898, pp. 245-246.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.
9. Evans, James E., "Paine Institute, Augusta, Georgia," *Nashville Christian Advocate*, XLIII (January 27, 1883), p. 7.
10. Hammond, J. D., "The Duty of Our Church to Educate the Negro," *Nashville Christian Advocate*, LXXIII (August 9, 1912, p. 15.)
11. *Journal*, General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, 1882, pp. 100-101.

## **AN EVALUATION OF THE INTEGRATION POTENTIAL OF A PHYSICAL EDUCATION PROGRAM**

**HARRIET J. KUPFERER**

In the northern regions of the United States legislation to protect the basic rights of disprivileged groups has been in practice for a number of years. That this legislation is helpful is conceded. However, the basic issues lie not in legal action, but rather in the quality of the feelings of one person for another. Laws alone cannot suffice in meeting this problem.

The types of reactions which one person exhibits to others are the results of a complex matrix of experiences and learnings, most of which were not acquired only during the courses of his institutional education. However, in some circumstances, the school may have inadvertently reinforced prejudicial behavior or thinking among its students, or vice versa.

Integration and the promotion of healthy group relations is a responsibility of the entire community. One of the most direct avenues of approach rests in the community school and its educational facilities. This task demands an embracing form of education which deals with more than the provision of facts for the consumption of the learner. It must be an experience which extends beyond the intellect and reaches the emotions.

Educators in analyzing the modern curriculum have identified several areas of education which seems to have exceptional possibilities for achieving group integration.

Physical education in no small part, has achieved status in the modern curriculum because of its potential for making social beings humans. This premise is based on the fact that physical education is a "doing" activity; that playing together on a team will create an *esprit de corps* or promote solidarity which will surmount racial or religious bigotry. Contribution to the group is expected to provide the individual with status.

In order to test this premise as it relates to intergroup relations, a study was carried on in the girls' physical education classes in a Connecticut High School. The school studied was selected because it possessed the essentials of an adequate physical education program<sup>1</sup> and it was located in an area in which good integration was absent. To identify such an area, a tentative list of criteria was drawn up and validated by literature and through the opinion of experts in the

<sup>1</sup> The suitability of the P.E. program was determined by use of a validated set of standards for secondary school physical education.

area of intergroup relations. The statements which were considered pertinent by the jury are:

1. Absence of fair employment practices
2. The presence of sub-standard housing
3. The presence of restricted residential areas
4. A Negro population on the increase
5. The presence of inadequate recreational facilities for all groups
6. Significant rate of Negro delinquency and crime
7. Voluntary segregation or clustering during free time at school
8. Repression or absences of controversial units of instruction in intergroup education in school
9. Absence of mixed congregation in churches
10. Newspapers identifying criminals by race or color

These situations existed in varying degrees in the city in which the study was done. Assuredly an evaluation of physical education against this frame work constituted an acid test.

The activities which were evaluated, namely, field hockey, soccer, softball and swimming, were thought by a group of physical educators to have a potential for bettering intergroup relations. With the exception of swimming it should be noted that the activities are those of the team type and largely competitive in nature. Square and folk dancing were cited as having possibilities, but in this school all such activities were co-educational. This practice while desirable for high school groups, could have obscured the findings because of the boy-girl factor. The study was delimited to the four activities of the girls' curriculum.

Four classes of freshmen girls, including white and Negroes were studied as they participated in the selected activities. It should be noted that these courses are a regular part of the instructional program and were not introduced for the purposes of this research nor were they taught out of context.

In order to reveal changes in group acceptance a sociometric test was utilized. In this case the sociometric question was based upon one criterion and utilized a three choice allowance. It was administered to the participating physical education classes before the start of the teaching material and every two weeks thereafter through the completion of eight week units.

The question was put to the students in the following manner:

We are going to need squads to work on field hockey. Each of you knows with whom you enjoy working most. These may be girls with whom you associate in other classes or they may be different, so

remember that we are talking about your physical education class. I have cards here which I am going to distribute. Put your name on the top of the card and opposite the number one, the name of the girl with whom you would most like to work, after number two your second choice and following number three your third choice. Below these numbers you will find three more; here if you have some with whom you prefer not to work, place their names. There are some girls absent today. You may choose an absent member too, if you care to do so. When you have done this, will you put down your reasons for your choices. You may be sure that no one will see your answers but myself. You may be as frank and sincere as you wish. We will work in these groups for two weeks and then change if you wish.

The choices were employed to construct sociograms in order to note the pattern of relationships as they existed at each period of the testing. Weight values were assigned to each choice. A first choice was designated as +3, a second choice carried the value of +2 and a third choice was designated as 1+. In cases where rejections were included, a first rejection equaled -3, a second equaled -2 and a third -1. By adding the values algebraically a sociometric social status score was computed for each member of the groups every two weeks. The use of this technique makes it possible to utilize numerical data.

To uncover individual movement of the Negro students within the group, the mean of the sociometric social status scores for the entire class on the first test and on the last test were computed. For each Negro the distance away from these means was determined by calculating their standard score. The data from the first and fifth test in all of the activities were compared to reveal changes in acceptance. The sociograms were analyzed to interpret the results of the statistical operations.

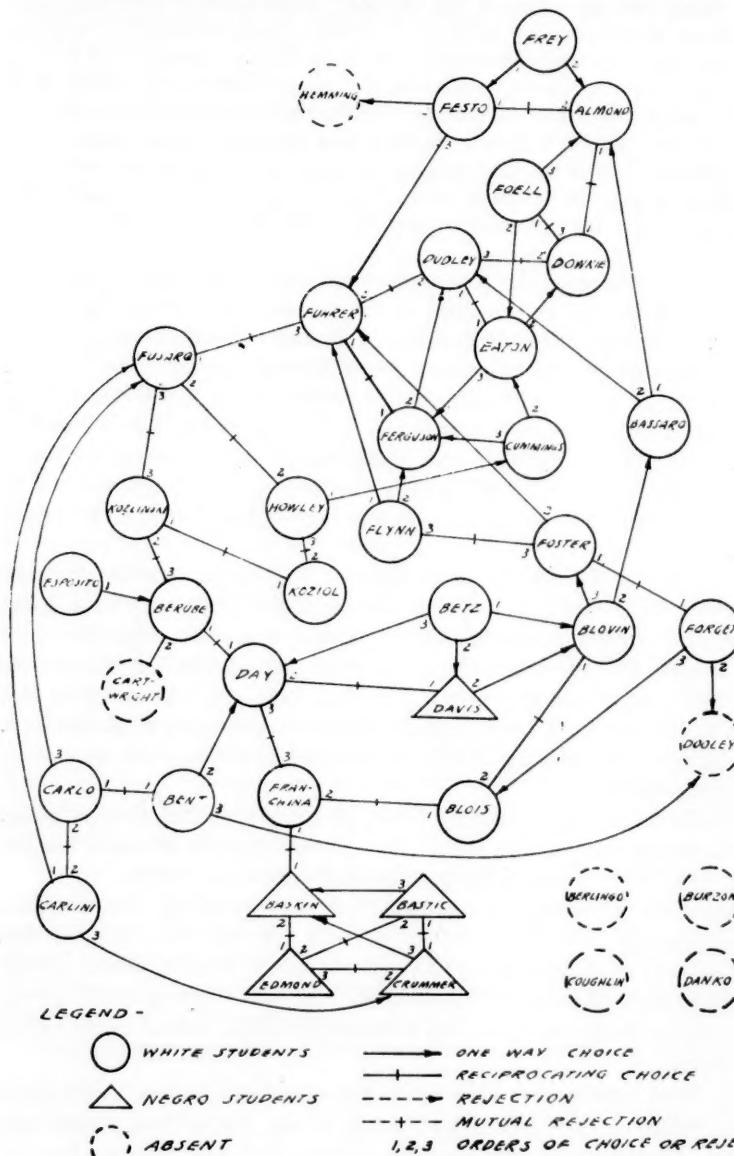
The results of the research were, in some respects disappointing. It was found that in this school few, if any positive changes toward integration were effected in the physical education classes.

The class in hockey was composed of forty members, five of whom were Negroes. The numerical data from the first test showed that the Negroes with one exception were a fairly homeogeneous group and were above the mean of their class. The fifth homeogeneous group Four of the Negro students had sociometric social status scores below the mean.

To base conclusions only upon the statistical results might have led to fallacious findings. Close study of the sociograms reveals the reasons for the arithmetic changes. In the first sociogram, (Fig. 1)

FIGURE #1

A SOCIOGRAM SHOWING GROUP STRUCTURE AT THE BEGINNING OF PARTICIPATION IN FIELD HOCKEY



the reader will see that four of the Negroes are a group; the fifth Davis is not currently a member. Two of the four each received one choice by white girls. In the case of Baskin, a mutual choice with a white appears. She was also the most chosen by the three other Negroes. Davis, on the other hand, is not chosen at all by the Negroes and received all her choices from two white girls with whom there was a reciprocation. It, perhaps is in keeping here to make the observation that Davis is an extremely light Negro and attractive. Some studies tend to show that the lighter the skin of the Negro the more she is acceptable to the white race. The sociogram depicts to a degree why the Negro groups scores are closer to the mean. Although, for the most part, they are not chosen by the white, they select each other. This guarantees them a higher numerical position in the group. On the other hand there are individual white girls who receive only one or no choices, which works to make their scores lower than those of the Negroes. This phenomenon does not mean that the Negroes are more or less accepted or integrated into the entire population under examination.

The fifth sociogram presents a somewhat altered picture. Baskin makes no choices outside the Negro group, although she receives one from a white. Davis who was absent receives no choices outside the Negro group. Davis' absence effects the sociometric social status scores of the other Negro girls because she was not present to make any choices. If the assumption could be made that the trend of Davis' choice remained the same as it was in the third and fourth test,<sup>2</sup> that at least three of the other Negro girls would have had higher scores.

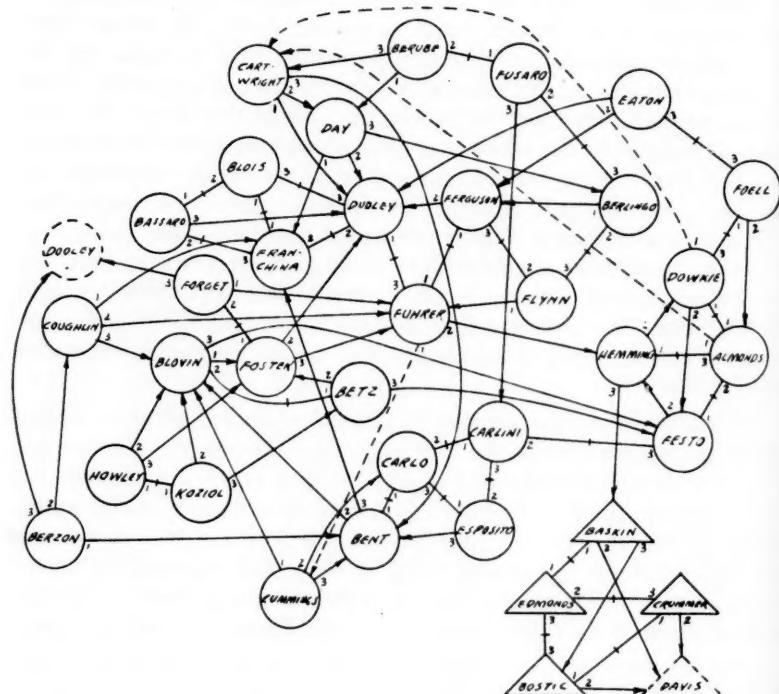
The findings of the evaluation of hockey are not in any way startling. Negro-white relations in terms of choices and sociometric scores seem to improve as a result of eight weeks in a hockey class. Conceivably it is possible to say that there is a poorer relationship between the two racial groups at the end than there was at the beginning. That this change is due to hockey *per se* or to other factors, or a combination, cannot be claimed. However, this phase of the physical education program did not work to counteract any other variables affecting group integration.

Similar results were found for the three other activities. Relative strong group cleavage seemed to remain constant through these instructional periods. By and large there were no improvements revealed in the status of Negro students. The situation in the school under examination was not characterized by overt hostility, yet each

<sup>2</sup> These sociograms are not herein included.

FIGURE 5

A SOCIOGRAM SHOWING GROUP STRUCTURE AT THE COMPLETION OF EIGHT WEEKS PARTICIPATION IN FIELD HOCKEY



## LEGEND -

○ WHITE STUDENTS

△ NEGRO STUDENTS

( ) ABSENT

- ONE WAY CHOICE
- ↔ MUTUAL CHOICE
- - - REJECTION
- + - MUTUAL REJECTION
- 1, 2, 3 ORDER OF CHOICE

racial group tended to go its own way with little social interaction. A *Laissez faire* attitude toward integration seemed to be in operation. the climate in physical education classes was one of authoritarianism; no apparent efforts were made toward integration.

These findings seem to impel the obvious conclusion relative to the potentials of any area of the curriculum for improving integration.

One might concede that perhaps social studies boast more inherent potential than the study of mathematics; or that physical play activities possess more promise than does the study of Latin in the changing of attitudes. However, it is not the "subject" which is the determining factor but rather the manner in which it is conducted and the quality of leadership and perception represented by the teacher.

The play activities of the physical education curriculum may, in a sense be considered amoral. This is taken to mean that over all they are neither good nor bad, either emotionally or physically. Outcomes of the program are largely determined by the desired objectives and the implementation methods devised to arrive at the aims. Placing students in a class and teaching rudiments of various games to them does little to consciously improve relations. With arbitrary controls imposed only by the instructor it may even serve to increase animosities.

The atmosphere of the class room (in this sense the gymnasium or play field) in which people relate to each other is of prime importance. Studies<sup>3</sup> have shown that where all authority rests with the teacher, aggression is apt to be a characteristic result. Where tension accumulates from this kind of climate group members may act to relieve this tension by acts against others of their class.

If insecurity prevails as a product of unmet emotional needs, group hostility may occur. An interesting study by Park<sup>4</sup> illustrates this thesis. He found that children whose needs were better met made significant gains in their attitudes of prejudice particularly toward the Negro minority. Children whose needs were less well met did not decrease in their prejudices toward the Negro people.

The general needs of adolescent girls are well identified by a number of authors. For the teacher concerned with this age it is not an insurmountable task to apply this research to her own students in an attempt to satisfy their needs through physical education. However, one sees immediately that it is not the sole responsibility of the physical educator, but one of the entire school and community. This is particularly true when we in physical education face the fact that some students participate in the activities in order to satisfy a requirement rather than because they are eager to play. With an antagonism toward physical education, it is indeed optimistic to believe changes of attitudes toward minorities can be brought about.

<sup>3</sup> For a complete treatment of this subject readers are referred to the various publications and films of Kurt Lewin and associates.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence Park, "Prejudice and Unmet Emotional Needs," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, V. 24, No. 7, 191 pp. 406-413.

If these girls achieve more satisfaction and enjoy greater status in art or music then it is from these areas that basic needs must be answered. Mobilization of all facets of school life is necessary, it is not the sole responsibility of one teacher working in one subject.

Research<sup>6</sup> seems to show that people want to be integrated human beings. Few people appear to want hate, hatred apparently is a result of blocked esteem and affiliation. As affiliative needs are met negative reactions seem to retreat. This principle joined with that of Park and of Lewin provides the platform for the sound conduct of physical education. If we as teachers make an indefatigable effort to meet the affiliative and emotional needs of the students in a warm atmosphere we are taking a long stride in working toward integration. Physical education must be more than mere training for fitness to justify its inclusion in the modern educational process. Those who carry out the program must assume the responsibility for the total climate in which interaction takes place. They must create opportunity, and capitalize on it, to promote integration and understanding among the youth.

Dr. Harriet J. Kupferer teaches at the University of Connecticut at Storrs.

---

<sup>5</sup> For a more extensive treatment of this subject the reader is referred to *Cultural Groups and Human Relations*, Conference on Educational Problems, Chapter 2.

---

### RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THREE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS

(Continued from page 68)

meaning and application of belief in God as this relates to *human beings*—be they endowed with brown eyes, blue eyes, dark skin, black hair or white skin.

Only if such enterprises soon become a prevailing pattern among our churches can Christians even begin to adequately present Christ as the hope of the world with its human fabric of colors and cultures.

Alfred S. Kramer is Associate Executive Director of the Department of Racial & Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.